# History Teaching as a Tool of Patriotic Education and Political Propaganda in the Russian Education System – Patterns of the Past and Modern Tendencies

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This study is devoted to the role of history as a tool of patriotic education and political propaganda in the modern system of Russian education. The article aims to analyze the structure and relationship of political propaganda and patriotic education in history lessons in Russian schools, observing the principle of historicism and the value approach. Russia's ideological and political peculiarities within the country and in the world are considered. The study applies the content analysis of Russian history textbooks for 10th grade after the unified concept of studying history which brought to a uniform learning history system in all schools (2013), revealing changes in the content of patriotic education and political propaganda. This method is used to analyze the characteristics of information sources and assess whether the content corresponds to accurate historical sources in the light of modern domestic and foreign policy of the Russian Federation.

Keywords: patriotic education, political propaganda, history textbooks, patriotism

## Introduction

The reform of history education in Russia is taking place gradually. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new ideology was introduced into society, including history education. In this regard, the unification of history in general education schools began in 2013 after an appeal by President Vladimir Putin. The unification reform aimed to bring the study of history to a single model established by the state, to be used in schools through out the country. The historical discipline is important for the government, as history has always been a tool for patriotic education and political propaganda (Zajda, 2004). This was reflected in the reform of the unification of history.

According to several researchers, the school is a very effective social institution engaged in the patriotic education of students, and the education of patriotism is one of the main objectives of state policy in education (Vereshchagina, 2020, p. 7). Patriotism is receiving increasing attention from the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation through the development of new laws and recommendations for educational institutions. Recently, patriotic education has become part of the political propaganda aimed at promoting the state ideology in the Russian Federation (Zabarin, 2003). Therefore, these two phenomena are considered to be interrelated elements of the impact on civic outlook through the system of general education.

The centralized system of education under the full control of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation allows the use and control of history teaching to promote the ideological ideas of the ruling elites as part of

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patriotic upbringing and political propaganda. Unexpectedly, at the time of writing this paper, military actions began on the territory of Ukraine at the initiative of Russian President V. V. Putin. In this situation, the topic of political propaganda and patriotic education among schoolchildren becomes even more relevant. These ideological tools are actively used in wartime to pressure the enemy and ideological mobilization of the population.

As part of history education, history textbooks are a powerful tool for the propaganda of patriotic and political ideas. The issue of state control over the development of history textbooks is actively discussed in the teaching community (Myasnikova, 2004, p. 4). Public figures and school and university teachers actively discuss the problem of the accuracy of history reflection, correlation with historical sources and political realities in school textbooks.

The topic of the research is relevant not only from the pedagogical side, considering the tools of application of history for patriotic and political education, but also from the political-applied point of view because of the internal and external political trends in the world. In addition, the relevance of the problem is justified by the need to rethink the activities of history education for patriotic and political education in the context of new social, cultural, and educational realities. The study of the policy of patriotic and political education and its application is necessary to understand the issues of ideological trends in society.

## Research problem

Even though some authors have discussed the place of patriotism in political propaganda (Liñán, M. V., 2010; Omelchenko et al., 2015), most studies focus mainly on one of the concepts without combining patriotism and political propaganda as mutually related elements in the education system (Sitnikova, I. V., 2016; Rogacheva, 2011). The main novelty of this research is that patriotic education and political propaganda are considered related phenomena and identify their theoretical features to determine this relationship.

Many methodological and ideological works have been written on the topic of patriotic education (Levkina, 2009). However, history textbooks are not the main object of research to promote political and patriotic ideas among schoolchildren. In the Soviet Union, by the end of the 1980s, scientists had achieved significant success in studying the problems of the school history textbook and studying the ideological framework (Zuev, 1983; Bespalko, 1988; Lerner, 1989). Studies have confirmed that the state monopoly in educational book publishing did not allow a variety of authors' textbooks. The official version of history was presented in a single textbook and was beyond doubt by research.

There are practically no works in the modern literature devoted to the analysis of political propaganda in schools from the standpoint of today, as well as there are no substantive studies of the role, methods, and functions of propaganda in transforming Russian society. This topic is likely taboo in many state systems and has not been as widespread as patriotic education. Therefore, a more detailed study is required due to the limited number of scientific sources.

In addition, the researchers raised the question of the relevance of patriotism and the legality of political propaganda at school. In their article Gusacov, E. (2018), after reviewing the scientific literature, determined that the education of patriotism can be opposed to the education characteristic of society. The advantage of the work is that the author (Gusacov, 2018) considers the concept and essence of patriotism quite critically.

The main difference between this study and the previous ones, for example, Liñán, M. V. (2010), is that patriotism and propaganda are considered interrelated ideological elements existing in the modern education system in Russia, defining standard features in the content and promotion of ideas of patriotism and state political ideology among schoolchildren based on an approach to defining these concepts and theoretical goals and functions of their application. It is also necessary to consider history as one of the critical school disciplines used for the patriotic and political education of schoolchildren, identifying the key events, heroes and values used in these processes.

## Research purpose

The study did not investigate the methodological side of patriotic education and political propaganda in Russian public education schools. The work focuses on phenomena in history teaching and their relationship to the Russian education system. Therefore, the author will analyze the structure and main elements of political propaganda and patriotic education in history lessons in general education schools of Russia at the theoretical and legal level, paying attention to the historical retrospective of these concepts' approaches to the definition of terms. In addition, it is imperative to determine the general patterns between patriotic education and political propaganda and their relevance in modern society based on their goals and functions.

The author aspired to an objective study of the topic under consideration, and this endeavour was guided by the principle of historicism, which requires considering any phenomenon and its development while identifying specific features and factors that determine them. A value approach was used in studying the problem of patriotism and political propaganda in school textbooks of national history, implying the principle of studying the past from specific values (Frolov, 2009). In this case, the ideological and political features of the Russian Federation from the domestic and foreign policy side are considered to analyze the reflection of history in high school textbooks, the reform of patriotic education and the spread of ideology in history lessons under the pressure of political trends in society.

## Research questions

This study is aimed at history teaching to rethink state policy in the field of history education in secondary schools since it is necessary to determine the relationship between patriotism and political propaganda and the scale of these phenomena to show how history has been a powerful tool for promoting political ideas beneficial to the state. In addition, it is vital to define the concepts of patriotism and political propaganda to identify common trends in the formation of these concepts. Additionally, it is essential to determine the content of history textbooks and changes in content in policy situations in the Russian Federation. That is why the study raises the topical issue of distortion of history. This study is aimed at solving the following research questions:

- What are the standard features of patriotic education and political propaganda in the scientific literature based on the analysis of the theoretical elements of these two phenomena, and how are they related within the framework of scientific discussions?
- 2. What historical topics, heroes and values are most relevant for the promotion of modern ideas of patriotism and political ideology in Russian schools after the Soviet regime and how were these topics reflected in history textbooks after the creation of the concept of unification of history and the creation of a unified history textbook for Russian schools?

## Methods

A descriptive research methodology, qualitative content analysis, was applied in this study since it includes a systematic analysis of texts (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). Content analysis is used to identify patterns in the practice of patriotic education and political propaganda in history lessons. The advantage of this method is consis-

tency, which implies consistent and systematic work. With the help of content analysis, it is possible to evaluate the characteristics of information sources and the content that has been changed depending on the educational policy in Russia.

The study uses Russian history textbooks as primary sources for grade 10 published after the creation of a unified concept for the study of history (2013) and the unification of all schoolbooks to determine historical topics and their scope, possible changes in content, and inconsistencies with accurate historical sources that are possible due to domestic and foreign policy events in the Russian Federation (Table 1). The sampling problem did not arise since officially prescribed school history textbooks were used uniformly throughout the country and were developed based on the Federal List of History Textbooks.

Educational standards define the chronological framework for studying history in grades 10 from the beginning of the XX to XXI centuries. This period of history is optimal to trace all the changes carried out in the history textbooks for secondary schools to determine the content of patriotic education and political propaganda as ideological tools.

Grade	Title	Author	Publisher (date)
10	History of Russia: the beginning of XX – the beginning of XXI century	Volobuev O.V., Karpachev S.P., Klokov V.A.	"Prosveshcheniye" (2020)
10	The History of Russia (in 3 parts)	Gorinov M.M., Danilov A.A., Morukov M.Yu.	"Prosveshcheniye" (2020)
10	The history of Russia. Early XX – early XXI century	Shubin A.V., Myagkov M.Yu., Nikiforov Yu.A.	"Prosveshcheniye" (2020)
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Table 1 Textbooks selected for comparative content analysis (full citations are available in References)

In this qualitative analysis of textbooks, the emphasis was placed on analyzing military topics in the history of XX-XXI centuries, which are often used when rethinking events, leaders, and other significant figures to identify ideological components in the content of textbooks, which are elements of patriotic education and political propaganda.

When analyzing history textbooks for grade 10, the primary attention will be aimed directly at critical historical events, heroes and ideological values determined based on a literature review on patriotic education and political propaganda in the history lessons. The study does not raise the question of the effectiveness of textbooks for patriotic and political education.

## The theory of patriotic education and political propaganda among teenagers in the process of studying national history in a secondary school

### Definition of patriotism and propaganda in scientific discourse

The problem of patriotic education and civic formation of youth is an urgent task recognized by the state (Government of the Russian Federation, 2005). Patriotism has become an integral part of the formation of national identity, especially during periods of national formation and wars (Piontkovsky, 2006, p. 24). Over time, with the change of society and its problems, the concept of patriotism changed. In the XIX century in Russia, patriotism was defined through religious, political, and social ideas (Piontkovsky, 2006).

When the Bolsheviks came to power, patriotic education began to focus on heroism and the defence of the socialist system (Andreev, 1992). Teacher A. S. Makarenko developed the concept of patriotic education through the organization of labour and aesthetic education. Sukholinsky also emphasized the importance of the formation of moral values and citizenship (Piontkovsky, 2006).

During the Second World War, patriotism was expressed in devotion to the communist system (Petukhova, 2006). In the post-war years, patriotic education was based on pride in the restoration of the country after the war. Important values included love for the country, history, and folk heroes (Tolen et al., 2014).

The modern perception of patriotism in Russia is actualized by President Putin, who considers it key for state stability and moral orientation (Anisimova, 2020). The state education policy also includes patriotism as a principle (Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation', 2012). Patriotic education programs in Russia began to be developed in the early 2000s and continue (Government of the Russian Federation, 2005).

Patriotism unites love for the Motherland, pride in its achievements and readiness to defend it (MacIntyre, 1984, p. 4). This also includes support for national interests and respect for national traditions (Tolen et al., 2014, p. 486). Thus, patriotism enriches education and forms national identity based on socio-moral values (Levkina, 2009).

Another phenomenon – propaganda – is less studied. The American political scientist and sociologist Harold D. Lasswell introduced one of the definitions, which departed from the religious approach. He wrote that propaganda is the management of collective attitudes by manipulating significant symbols (Lasswell, 1927, p. 627). His ideas formed the basis of the approach to propaganda as an information management system.

In the works of the same period in the field of public relations and propaganda, Bernays emphasized that propaganda is the deliberate manipulation of people's opinions (Bernays, 1928). According to G. Lassuelo, propaganda has introduced political myths and stereotypes. In his opinion, a political stereotype is a set of social beliefs that include stable ideas about the ideal type of power within a particular social structure (Rogers, 1997, p. 213).

The psychological approach involves the study of the mechanisms of propaganda influence, essentially, at the level of the formation of attitudes and processes of stereotyping (Abdulova, 2007, p. 29). The sociological approach is the most diverse since it determines the regularity of the impact of propaganda on public relations – sociologists studying propaganda focus on the value orientations of the consciousness of the whole society. Mike Choukas, in his work on political propaganda, expressed the opinion that propaganda is the controlled dissemination of distorted ideas to encourage people to take actions that meet the pre-planned goals of interested groups (Choukas, 1965, p. 41).

One of the effective methods of defining propaganda is a systematic approach. A systematic approach is relevant when studying political propaganda at school. Compared with psychological and social practices, this goes beyond the formation of public opinion with the help of mass media, television, and the Internet (Abdulova, 2007). This approach was characterized by a deeper understanding of the role of propaganda in society. This happens in all spheres of his existence, including education.

#### Goals and functions of patriotic education and political propaganda in secondary schools

Patriotic education of children is one of the tasks of school education in Russia (Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation", 2012). Based on the definition of patriotic education, its goal is to develop high social activity, civic responsibility, spirituality in Russian society, the formation of citizens with positive values and qualities capable of manifesting them in the creative process in the interests of the state, strengthening the form, ensuring its vital interests and sustainable development (concept).

The professional literature highlights more specific goals of patriotic education. The article on the elements of the content of patriotic education presents several directions to which this process should be directed (Lukhovitsky et al., 2009): educating students with a sense of patriotism, developing and deepening knowl-edge about the history and culture of Russia and their native land; Developing the ability to comprehend events and phenomena of reality in the relationship of the past, present and future; Formation of a comprehensively developed citizen of Russia in cultural, moral and physical relations; the development of interest and respect for the history and culture of one's own and other peoples (Lukhovitsky et al., 2009).

Patriotic education has several goals. The strategic plan of patriotic education is to maximize the development of the content of education in the conditions of practical activity of the teacher of patriotic education of schoolchildren (Levkina, 2009). The tactical goal is aimed at a continuous and step-by-step solution to the tasks of patriotic education, considering the dynamics of changes in the object. The operational plan assumes daily interaction to solve pedagogical tasks (situations) related to patriotic education in schools. These goals define the broad functions of patriotic education in secondary schools (Gorbunov, 2007): a formative and developing function associated with the formation and development of personality, qualities that characterize the essence of a patriot citizen; the function of encouraging self-improvement through self-development of patriotism; preventive function, the implementation of which allows you to predict and prevent the manifestations of anti-patriotic beliefs, feelings, actions and deeds; a correctional function implemented when working with deviations in the behaviour of young people with established negative stereotypes that do not accept the very idea of patriotism; and the mobilization function manifests itself when it is necessary to realize the inner forces of the individual to overcome difficulties and fulfil their civil and military duty.

The types and functions of propaganda will vary depending on the interpretation of the definition. The French sociologist Duverger (2011), in his book on constitutional law and institutions, identified several propaganda goals. According to Duverger, propaganda is aimed at the worldview of society. Propaganda seeks to ensure continuity of values and worldview, as well as patriotic education.

There is a different approach to defining propaganda goals, presented in the doctoral dissertation of the Russian political scientist Abdulova (2007). She identified promising, strategic, and tactical goals. Strategic (global) propaganda goals are aimed at solving large-scale problems that qualitatively change public opinion. Tactical (local) propaganda goals have more accessible functions and act as part of propaganda activities within the framework of strategic goals. Long-term goals follow the strategic objectives of the state and are a transitional stage before the strategic stages (Abdulova, 2007, p. 68). Thus, within the framework of Abdulova's theory of propaganda goals, high efficiency of propaganda is possible only in the aggregate.

The concept of propaganda goals is closely related to the definition of its functions. Propaganda functions are a kind of task that allows you to achieve the goal of propaganda and ensure the impact on public opinion. Approaches to defining the function of propaganda are also quite widely represented in the literature.

The Russian sociologist Skulenko (1987, pp. 25-30) presented in his work "Journalism and Propaganda" the most specific practice-oriented functions of propaganda. These are implemented in close cooperation: political education, ideological and educational function, organizational function, social management, and regulatory function.

An important function of propaganda is the ideological function (Abdulova, 2007, p. 75). The ideological function is to maintain the existing or spread a new ideology in society. The educational function of propaganda is based on the formation of a certain system of worldview. The ideological function is engaged in the dissemination of certain views and values, but the educational function pursues a more complex goal: the in-

troduction of the provisions of the propagandized ideology into the motivational sphere and the creation of stable stereotypes that will ensure the reproduction of ideological carriers in time (Abdulova, 2007, p. 79).

The results of the literature analysis show that the goals and functions of patriotic education and political propaganda indicate the existence of a connection between these processes. The goals and functions of political propaganda are very close to the educational tasks of patriotism since propaganda and education are focused on a specific audience and influence people's behaviour. The goals of both processes are being developed at the global and local levels. The essential point in both aspects is the ideological function. Patriotic education and political propaganda can be considered the most important components of the state ideology.

#### Role of history textbooks in patriotic education and political propaganda

Within the framework of the problems of modern school education, the most pressing issue is the school textbook, which is one of the main components of the educational process (Gaddis, 2019). School historiography continues to be a relevant area of political research. According to Zajda (2004), history textbooks after the collapse of the Soviet Union were aimed at presenting significant events, leadership, ideology, and ideological reinterpretation of Russian history. Post-Soviet representation of the historical narrative with an emphasis on cultural heritage, traditions, and patriotism.

According to the published school history curriculum for the 10th grade, the following topics are used for patriotic education: Russia in the First World War (4 hours); Revolution of 1917 (3 hours); World War II (6 hours); Chernobyl disaster (Daminova, 2020). Topics that are usually kept quiet include the wars in Afghanistan and Chechnya, in which Russia was an active participant. Important personalities in the history of Russia who demonstrated a patriotic character towards the country were Ivan Susanin, Zoya Kosmedimyanskaya, and Yuri Gagarin. Their stories are used as an example of patriotism in the history of the state, to which young people should strive.

Sergei Solovyov (2009) discusses ideological myths in Russian history textbooks of the 2000s. He analyzes stereotypical patterns in textbook narratives about the twentieth century. He focused on the critical falsification of historical facts in new history textbooks describing wars, revolutions, repressions, class struggle and the collapse of the state (Soloviev, 2009).

In addition to historical myths, the historical-cultural standard places special emphasis on protecting Russia's geopolitical past. Ideologically, the geopolitical restoration of Russia is based on the thesis that the expansion of the Russian state objectively met the interests of the security of ethnic groups living in the Eurasian spaces. The country's territorial growth was determined by the need to organize a system of stable and safe economic activity and inclusion in global production and economic ties. In general, it also met the needs of the spiritual development of the peoples included in it through their introduction to world values through the great Russian culture (Tyapin, 2017).

It is important to remember that metaphors in political discourse are a means of persuasion and manipulation. Metaphors for political propaganda can be an integral part of the content of history textbooks. The most successful recent political metaphor in Russian political discourse has been the metaphor of the 'vertical of power'. Power relations began to be viewed precisely in this metaphor. If we turn on critical thinking, then "vertical" does not reveal the meaning of the relationship between government and society since horizontal connections are no less or even more important than vertical ones.

In general, the history of Russia is, first, the history of wars in which the citizens of the country showed their heroism. Therefore, patriotic education and political propaganda are carried out using historical materials

that reveal the traditions of the Russian people, heroic struggles, and exploits. That is, during history lessons, schoolchildren are told about events from the point of view of love for the Motherland (Prokhodchik, 1991, p. 18). In the process of patriotic education and political propaganda in history education, those moments of history that contribute to the goals of propaganda are emphasized, and negative aspects are ignored or not given much attention.

# School history textbooks as a tool of patriotic education and political propaganda: content analysis

#### Data collection

Five school history textbooks have become the subject of critical content analysis. History textbooks for the 10th grade were published after 2020 and are included in the federal list of textbooks, which is controlled by the Ministry of Education of Russia. The Ministry of Education has checked all textbooks. Therefore, the history of Russia in these textbooks corresponds to the ideology established in the state. Textbooks were found in electronic form for conducting qualitative research on patriotic education and political propaganda in history lessons in secondary schools in Russia.

All textbooks were written with the support of the publishing house Enlightenment, which for a long time remained under the state's control.

The selection of textbooks is related to the fact that in school literature for grades 10, according to the new Historical and Cultural standard, the XX-XXI centuries are studied, the events of which are most used in patriotic education and political propaganda in history lessons. Also, students of these classes by age indicators are beneficial to the state for the dissemination of patriotic and political ideas since they are future voters.

#### Type of history textbook analysis

The context analysis included the study of the narrative of school textbooks from chapters devoted to key events of the XX-XXI centuries. The study analyzed only those fragments of Russian history textbooks for grades 10 that play a role in the formation of ideology used for patriotic and political education among school-children. Thus, special attention was paid to historical themes in the work:

- Military history (World War II, military events in the early XXI century, in which the Russian Federation took part)
- revolutionary events (October Revolution of 1917; Political crisis in Ukraine (2013-2014)
- internal political events in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union

The relevance of these topics in the process of political propaganda and patriotic education was determined by a review of the literature of Russian and foreign scientists. These events of the twentieth century are most often subjected to discussions about reinterpretation and falsification in history textbooks. This happens depending on the political situation in Russia.

This study uses a critical discursive analysis of school history textbooks with three levels developed by Fairclough (Rogers, 1997):

- 1. Textual analysis (description),
- 2. Discursive practices (interpretation),
- 3. Social practice (explanation).

#### Data analysis

Most authors share the modern approach to the textbook. One of his main tasks is to teach an understanding of the historical process and cause-and-effect relationships. The textbook, according to historians, should promote independent thinking and stimulate discussion, highlighting the most complex and ambiguous episodes in the history of the country (Gaddis, 2019). However, history textbooks include more than basic training tasks. In the process of a comprehensive analysis of history textbooks, it is essential to pay attention to the tasks of state policy reflected in the texts and their most essential components - patriotic and political education. It is these components that are indicators of the ideology of history textbooks for Russian schoolchildren.

According to the Federal list of textbooks for the 10th grade, secondary schools for teaching history can purchase textbooks of only two editions: "Russian Word" and "Enlightenment".

Most textbooks recommended by the Ministry of Education for studying history are reprints from previous years. The series of textbooks was published before the reform of historical education in 2013 and was used in history lessons. However, the political and ideological state of the Russian Federation has influenced the content of history textbooks and their reissue. For example, the content of the history of the Second World War was expanded.

Since 2016, in pursuance of the instruction of the President of the Russian Federation, V.V. Putin, the Ministry of Education and Science has issued clarification No. 08-2655 dated 07.12.2016 on the transition of all secondary schools from a concentric system of teaching history to a linear one (Ministry of Education and Science, 2016). As a result, the content of school textbooks was revised. Now, the history textbooks for grades 10 contain about 40 topics covering the history from 1917 to 2020.

## The representation of historical narratives depicting key events: grade 10

The content of textbooks is very different, as is the author's composition. However, all textbooks on the history of Russia for the 10th grade begin with an introduction, where the authors get to know the readers and teach them how to work with the textbook. This section allows students to understand the structure of the textbook and its main content, which they will study throughout the academic year. From the very first pages, the authors in Volobuev's textbook (2020) wrote about the importance of patriotic ideas in teaching history. The text says that a thoughtful attitude to the history of Russia is a prerequisite for a patriotic attitude to civic duty (Volobuev et al., 2020).

#### Russian Revolution of 1917

When assessing the role of history textbooks in patriotic and political education dedicated to the 20th century, it must be borne in mind that one of the most critical problems of Russia's internal development at the beginning of the century was the question of revolutionary movements. The first significant event that was interpreted depending on the political system in the country was the February and October revolutions of 1917, during which the imperial power was overthrown, and the power of the Bolsheviks was established.

The President of Russia ambiguously assessed the events of 1917, speaking at a meeting of the Valdai International Discussion Club. In 2021, at the annual meeting of Valdai, Vladimir Putin said that revolution is not a way out of the crisis but a way to aggravate this crisis, and the country's political system needs calm and stable development without emissions of negative emotions (Lenta.ru, 2021). His statements define the policy and ideology of Russia in patriotic and political education, which can be traced in history textbooks. Most textbooks consider the revolutions of 1917 as 'great' (Shubin et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, a). In this context, the revolution is demonstrated as a positive and progressive event in Russian history at the beginning of the XX century. The authors of the textbooks stressed the importance of liberating the people from imperial power. Analysis of the text of paragraph 3 'The People's Uprising in Petrograd. The Fall of the Monarchy' in Volobuev's textbook demonstrates that the author is more objective about these revolutionary events (Volobuev et al., 2020). The author does not give a historical assessment of these events but invites students to independently decide what the revolution of 1917 is - a coup, an uprising, or a conspiracy.

In addition to the difference in the assessment of revolutionary events, the authors of textbooks interpreted the role of Emperor Nicholas II in the February Revolution of 1917 in different ways. The textbook edited by Torkunov highlights that the emperor made too many mistakes in his reign. This led to the fall of his authority and overthrow (Gorinov et al., 2020, a). However, the text does not pay attention to the fact that other more significant reasons led to the change of power in the country. Other texts indicate a number of additional reasons: the country's industry and agriculture were on the verge of complete collapse; the unresolved agrarian issue and the impoverishment of peasants; the postponement of socio-economic reforms (Volobuev et al., 2020; Shubin et al., 2020). The ideological moment for a modern schoolboy may be that the leader of the state is of great importance in the politics of the state, and all the events that occur are his area of responsibility.

An essential moment in the history of the February Revolution of 1917 is the legality of the change of power in the country. Volobuev demonstrates in his textbook that the opponents of the current government had no legitimate grounds for overthrowing Emperor Nicholas II (Volobuev et al., 2020). However, according to another narrative, the political situation did not allow for any other solution than a change of political power in the Russian Empire (Gorinov et al., 2020, a). In modern political propaganda among schoolchildren, topics can also be updated, such as the fact that the government can only be changed legally, without revolutionary events, but in modern Russia, the law is directly controlled by the government and adjusted depending on the purpose of domestic policy.

The authors of all textbooks use the metaphor 'the fall of the monarchy' ('падение монархии') in the context of the overthrow of the power of Emperor Nicholas II (Volobuev et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, a; Shubin et al., 2020). The power of the emperor during the Russian Empire was closely connected with religious ideas, and this metaphor can be interpreted as the expulsion of Lucifer from heaven and his further fall, that is, his state fell together with the emperor since the monarch is the only axis of the country (Volobuev et al., 2020).

Based on the above, the history of the February and October Revolution of 1917 is important in promoting peace in the state. The narrative makes it clear that the revolution is not a positive process and cannot be used as a legitimate tool for a change of power. In the process of patriotic education, the interpretation of revolutionary events can be used as an example to preserve the unity of the state to avoid negative consequences for the internal political situation of the country. In the process of the active growth of the opposition movement, it is advantageous for the government to demonstrate the horrors of any revolutions and the illegality of demonstration activities.

#### Great Patriotic War (1941–1945)

The study of the history of the Second World War has a special place in the system of patriotic education and political propaganda. This topic is actively used to form the patriotic and ideological creation of schoolchild-ren. According to sociological research, the Second World War, the archetype of Victory, is an event with which all citizens of Russia associate themselves (Prokazina, 2014). The importance of this event in the history

of Russia is also emphasized by the fact that in Russian society, the Second World War was called The Great Patriotic War ('Великая Отечественная война') (Volobuev et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, b; Shubin et al., 2020). The history textbooks present the periodization of the Great Patriotic War from 1941 to 1945, even though the war began in 1939. This can be interpreted as the separation of the war between the Soviet Union and the German coalition into a separate event.

Volobuev, in his textbooks, titled the paragraph dedicated to the Second World War as 'The Great. Domestic. Sacred' (Volobuev et al., 2020). The wars with Napoleon and Khan Mamai are not called sacred in historical education, even though these wars were of key importance in the history of Russia. The idea of a holy war has been preserved since the Soviet Union.

The topic of the Second World War is strictly protected by legislation. Over the past decade, many laws have appeared that restrict free expression about the Great Patriotic War. For example, the Federal Law of 05.04.2021 amended the Criminal Code, based on which criminal liability was introduced for publicly insulting the memory of defenders of the Motherland or humiliating the honour and dignity of a veteran of the Great Patriotic War (KonsultantPlyus, 2021).

The authors of school textbooks, following the recommendations of the Historical and Cultural Standard, paid great attention to the Great Patriotic War and, above all, to the man at war. Suffice it to say that in all three textbooks, from 6 to 8 paragraphs are devoted to the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. No other topic has such a large volume in school literature.

In the paragraphs devoted to the events preceding the entry of the Soviet Union into World War II, the authors pointed out in detail two key events – the signing of the non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union and the Polish campaign of the Red Army (in 1939). These events play an essential role in the ideological education of young people in history lessons. The 'Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact's first event was on August 23, 1939. In international historiography, it is a non-aggression document between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union that allowed these two powers to divide Poland. All three history textbooks clearly state that this political agreement gave the USSR a temporary reprieve from Hitler's aggression and enabled Germany to start a war in Poland. The textbook edited by Toptunov directly states that this treaty delimited the spheres of influence of Germany and the USSR (Gorinov et al., 2020, b). Thus, modern school textbooks do not hide the true goals of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact' and are called a 'diplomatic duo' (Volobuev et al., 2020, p. 147). The authors of the textbooks did not hide the pragmatism and manoeuvrability of the Soviet government when signing the treaty with Germany in 1939. This can become an instrument of political propaganda, indicating a bold step by the government, which military actions are required to preserve peace in the state.

The Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact led to tragic events in Poland, after which Germany began hostilities on September 1, 1939, and the Soviet Union sent Soviet troops to the eastern borders of Poland. The analysis of textbooks demonstrates a different attitude to the similar actions of Germany and the USSR. According to Volobuev's interpretation, Germany began aggression in Poland, and the Soviet army simply crossed the state border (Volobuev et al., 2020). In Russian historiography, Germany's attack on Poland is called the beginning of the war, and Soviet actions are called the "Polish campaign of the Red Army".

In modern history textbooks, the Soviet military campaign in Poland in 1939 is called the "liberation campaign" (Volobuev et al., 2020, p. 142). In the textbook edited by Medinsky and Torkunov, these events are interpreted as the protection of the population in Poland or a campaign to liberate territories (Shubin et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, b). In turn, the German army is the 'Nazi occupiers' (Volobuev et al., 2020, p. 167). There is an obvious parallel with the situation in international relations between Russia and Ukraine. Officially, the military situation in Ukraine is called a "special military operation" (Daniel, 2022).

However, despite the "liberating" interpretation of the actions of the Soviet army, Volobuev's textbook mentions Soviet terror against the Polish people (the Katyn massacre). The author of the textbook drew attention to the fact that, officially, these events were recognized as a crime of the Stalinist regime in 2010 (Volobuev et al., 2020). Other textbooks either do not mention the repressive events in Poland (Gorinov et al., 2020, b), or give a neutral assessment of the execution of Polish citizens by the NKVD detachment in 1940 (Shubin et al., 2020).

In general, not enough space is given to the history of repression in the Soviet Union in modern history textbooks. The authors refer to a limited set of historical facts. The text is repeated from textbook to textbook. Avoiding explanations about the ideological foundations of repressive politics, confining themselves to their statement. There is a risk of forming in the students the idea that repression is a kind of revolutionary improvisation or spontaneous generation of a socialist experiment (Repukhov, 2009).

In addition, in the process of studying the history of the Second World War according to the state ideology, every young person entering life must be imbued with the right idea that Victory in the war was secured thanks to patriotism, the heroism of front-line soldiers and home front workers, unity of the people of the country. In all three textbooks, the paragraphs 'The identity of the rear and the front' are highlighted (Volobuev et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, b; Shubin et al., 2020). The authors of all three textbooks try to demonstrate that the phenomenon of the Great Patriotic War is a national feat. The heroism of the Soviet people became a direct example for the younger generation of what it means to be a true patriot. The narrative in school history textbooks makes you think that without a strong rear, it would be impossible to defeat such an enemy. In the year of severe trials, the whole country turned into a single military camp.

One of the main directions in the activities of the school for patriotic education was the study and propaganda of the great battles of the Second World War: The Battle of Moscow, the Battle of Stalingrad and Kursk, the siege of Leningrad. These tasks are solved both in the educational process and in extracurricular time. The history textbooks consider not only the course of military operations of battles but also other important issues, for example, the mass heroism of Soviet citizens.

In general, the description of military events from all three history textbooks focuses on factual material, but in patriotic education and political propaganda, it is important to use visual information (military posters, photographs, etc.). In history textbooks, the authors added posters and photographs dedicated to the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. For example, a poster, 'Everything for the front! Everything for Victory' (author L.M. Licisky, 1942), where a man and a woman with a call to work are demonstrated (Volobuev et al., 2020, p. 174). The painting "Defense of Sevastopol" (author A.A. Deineka, 1942) carries a robust patriotic load (Volobuev et al., 2020, p. 163). In the foreground of the painting is a huge figure of a sailor. He embodies the power of the people in the fight against fascism. To draw the children's attention to the fact that the artist painted our sailors in white, and the fascists in black, thus showing his attitude to the heroes-sailors and invaders. The picture is aimed at demonstrating to schoolchildren the patriotism of the Soviet people, who should remain an example for the younger generation.

In addition to propaganda posters, the author of textbooks used real photographs to demonstrate the patriotic behaviour of Soviet citizens during World War II.

Summarizing the previous arguments, we can say that the theme of the Second World War occupies a large place in history textbooks and is the most important tool in political propaganda and patriotic education

among schoolchildren. Manipulating terms about the peaceful intentions of the USSR in relation to Poland, keeping silent about the repressive policy of the USSR in relation to some nationalities, the heroism of the So-viet people becomes an excellent method for educating the necessary ideological ideas among young people.

#### Dissolution of the Soviet Union

In addition to military events in the XX century, the collapse of the USSR remains the central event in the modern history of Russia. All the contours of modern socio-economic processes and political structures are formed directly because of this collapse. The significance of this topic in the process of patriotic and political education lies in the fact that the study of the topic of the collapse of the USSR is aimed at forming an under-standing of the importance of legal values and the complexity and inconsistency of the event being studied. In addition, history lessons about the collapse of the USSR can contribute to the education of a sense of patriotism by studying the events that took place during this period in other countries.

In almost all the history textbooks that we have at our disposal, the idea that the Soviet system was initially doomed to collapse, and it was pointless to reform it (Volobuev et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, c; Shubin et al., 2020). For most authors, it is characteristic to recognize the existence of a crisis in the Soviet system of power, which is considered the last stage of its existence. The causes of the crisis, in most cases, are interpreted as objective. The authors highlighted the economic crisis in the country, the 'crisis of power' (Volobuev et al., 2020, p. 293), 'the crisis of interethnic relations' (Shubin et al., 2020, p. 343; Gorinov et al., 2020, c, p. 36). Thus, the collapse of the Soviet Union is primarily associated with a crisis. The authors of all textbooks described the processes that led to political changes, but in the textbook tests, they do not use the word cause in a detailed analytical analysis of the situation that was on the eve of the collapse of the USSR.

Analyzing the history textbook for grades 10, from the paragraph devoted to the collapse of the Soviet Union, we drew attention to the ideological instability of the Soviet state. One of the manifestations of the crisis was that the effect of communist ideology weakened. Volobuye clearly defined the political, ideological, and organizational collapse of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Volobuev et al., 2020). In other history textbooks reviewed, these problems are also mentioned, although they are not assigned a decisive role in that comprehensive crisis. Perhaps the collapse of the Soviet Union could be an example of the need for a stable ideology in the state while fulfilling the goals of patriotic and political education. A history teacher could use this topic by emphasizing how important a strong, unified ideology is in a country that would not affect political stability in society but would continue to preserve society.

In fact, in the process of patriotic education and political propaganda, a parallel is possible between the revolutionary events of 1917 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The scenario in these two events is quite similar: the abdication of the ruling elite, the new government, the storming of the state building, and the creation of a new state structure.

Propaganda of the absence of national ideas and the lack of formation of Russian identity as a factor of social cohesion, which was absent between national movements in the Russian Empire and the Soviet republics, can become a deterrent factor in the formation of patriotism. Russian patriotism forms a single civil nation capable of uniting the population of Russia regardless of ethnic and religious affiliation, thereby contributing to the preservation of the unity of the state and the establishment of civil harmony, which did not exist at the collapse of the USSR. The authors of history textbooks clearly demonstrate this disunity among national movements in the Soviet republics (Volobuev et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, c; Shubin et al., 2020). We gradually came to what the textbook authors consider to be the most striking external manifestation of the crisis of the Soviet system – the national problems that suddenly arose in the USSR in the second half of the 1980s. Therefore, one of the components of political propaganda and patriotic education has become the idea of tolerance, which presupposes the desire for an open intercultural dialogue. The critical importance of the theme of the collapse of the Soviet Union in patriotic education and political propaganda lies in the idea of the unity of nations, which is necessary for the preservation of the state. Government officials, in their speeches, often use expressions dedicated to the aggression of other nations against Russians, and this is actively used in political propaganda.

#### The Russian Federation at the beginning of the XXI century

Equally important is the reflection of the history of modernity in history textbooks for the 10th grade. The history of Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union is devoted to several paragraphs in each of the history textbooks. All the authors focused on the new political system and reforms of the country's political structure and economic changes. Within the framework of this study, the most important is the analysis of the narrative about V.V. Putin's presidential terms.

Vladimir Putin's first presidential term began in 1999 when acting President Boris Yeltsin announced his early resignation from the presidency and the appointment of Vladimir Putin as Acting President of Russia. According to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, three months later, in March 2000, presidential elections were held, where Vladimir Putin became President of Russia. Volobuev, in his textbook, emphasized that the process of electing a new president is a 'unique circumstance' (Volobuev et al., 2020, p. 319). The author himself did not indicate why it is unique but asked readers this question. He does not give students the opportunity to assume that there is nothing unique in this process for the history of Russia. Over the centuries of history, there have never been situations when power was transferred to a successor.

Even between presidential terms, the post of President of the Russian Federation was held by the leader of the ruling party, D.A. Medvedev, from 2008 to 2012. The authors of the textbooks did not indicate that he is Putin's 'temporary successor', so Vladimir Vladimirovich himself could not nominate his candidacy for a third consecutive term (Volobuev et al., 2020). According to the authors of history textbooks, Dmitry Anatolyevich Medvedev became President of the country because politicians had common views on politics (Volobuev et al., 2020; Shubin et al., 2020). Dmitry Medvedev has just created new conditions for V.V. Putin for a longer tenure of power, increasing the term of the presidency from 4 to 6 years. The former President of Russia him-self did not even nominate his candidacy for the next election in 2012, where Vladimir Putin won again.

In addition to the elections of the President of the Russian Federation, there are elections to the State Duma, where the largest number of votes from year to year is received by the United Russia party (Volobuev et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, c; Shubin et al., 2020). This is a political party that supported the policy of V.V. Putin and continues to support it. The current President is not the official leader of United Russia and is not a member of the party; he acts as its de facto leader (Peslpv, 2018). In the test of one of the history textbooks for the 10th grade, the emphasis is placed on the fact that United Russia is at the head of the parliament because Russian society is tired of liberal patriots after the events in the 90s. However, the winning party itself is liberal conservative.

In addition to new political changes, an important moment in the history of Russia at the beginning of the XXI century is the Second War in Chechnya (1999-2000). Modern history textbooks pay little attention to these events. Volobuev devoted several paragraphs to these events. However, the authors and editor

Torkunov of 'The History of Russia (in 3 parts)' successfully emphasized how the events in the North Caucasus made V.V. Putin 'the most popular politician in the country' (Gorinov et al., 2020, c, p.77). The new President of the Russian Federation was portrayed as a strong leader who, immediately at the beginning of his political path, carried out decisive measures to restore constitutional order in Chechnya, fought terrorists, visited hot spots, and consistently and firmly insisted on the unity of the country. Unfortunately, this textbook does not mention the importance of other political and military leaders who also played a role in improving the situation in the Second Chechen War.

In the history textbooks edited by Medinsky and Torkunov, in addition to the end of the Chechen War thanks to the policy of V.V. Putin, the fate of Chechnya is presented in more detail. The territories were proclaimed a republic and became part of the Russian Federation, and A. Kadyrov became the newly elected President of the Chechen Republic (Gorinov et al., 2020, c; Shubin et al., 2020). The textbooks do not mention the past of the new political leader of the republic. In the mid-90s, Kadyrov declared jihad against Russia, calling on Muslims to kill Russians wherever they met (The war in Chechnya, 2011). Thus, these fragments of the history of the Chechen war in history textbooks emphasize the significant role of V.V. Putin and the fight against terrorism, but they are silent about the past of the new supporters of the current President. Creating an image of a strong leader is one of the components of patriotic and political education.

Continuing the theme of Russia's foreign policy course at the beginning of the XXI century, it is essential to note that the foreign policy ideology of the modern Russian state is clearly presented in school history textbooks for grades 10. Foreign policy since the coming to power of V. Putin is aimed at peaceful cooperation with foreign countries based on peaceful international agreements and protection of the interests of the Russian Federation (Volobuev et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, c; Shubin et al., 2020). The authors of all textbooks mentioned that the Russian authorities are concerned about the expansion of NATO to the East, which has led Russia to cooperate with border countries, or the creation of a "neighbourhood belt around Russia's borders" (Gorinov et al. 2020, c, p. 92). The metaphor can be interpreted in such a way that the Russian government cooperates with neighbouring countries to create security borders around its state. Based on this, the geopolitical conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which began in 2014, is obvious. And it continues to this day, where the territories of Ukraine can become a protective shield for Russia from the military activity of NATO countries.

In the fragments devoted to foreign policy, the idea of building an external enemy is clearly traced in all analyzed textbooks of the history of Russia of the XX-XXI centuries. Russia is portrayed as a country that supports peace and does not want war, and the policy of NATO expansion and military operations of other countries are condemned and often called aggression. Examples from the history of Russian-Polish relations before the outbreak of World War II have already been presented, but there are more such events in the history of the XXI century. For example, the military operation in North Ossetia in 2008, where Georgia is depicted as an aggressor, and Russia, to protect the population in this territory, launched a "military operation to force peace" (Gorinov et al., 2020, c, p. 97). This trend of Russia's peacekeeping activities is especially relevant in political propaganda among schoolchildren due to the military conflict in Ukraine.

Probably the most controversial topic today is the Ukrainian crisis and how it is reflected in Russian history textbooks. The events of 2014 related to the entry of Crimea into Russia are described in all analyzed textbooks. According to textbooks on the history of Russia for grade 10, the Crimean Russian-speaking population, whose opinion the nationalist government of Ukraine did not consider, initiated the reunification of the region with Russia (Gorinov et al., 2020, c; Shubin et al., 2020). Therefore, the referendum held in Crimea, followed by the legal procedure for the region's entry into the rights of a subject of the Russian Federation, was

the protection of their rights by Crimeans (Volobuev et al., 2020; Gorinov et al., 2020, c). Volobuev and a group of co-authors noted that Russia had decided to temporarily preserve peace on the Crimean Peninsula, in the Donetsk and Luhansk republics due to the repressive policies of the Ukrainian nationalist government (Volobuev et al., 2020).

During the entire analysis of the history textbooks of Russia, for the first time, inconsistencies in the survey were detected. In the history textbooks, the dates of V. Putin's signing of the document on the entry of Crimea into the Russian Federation differ. In most history textbooks, this happened on March 18 (Volobuev et al., 2020; Shubin et al., 2020). However, one textbook indicates an entirely different date – March 21 (Gorinov et al., 2020, c). This brings the study back to the issue of the lack of references to facts in Russian history textbooks. This raises the question of the relevance of falsification of history, which can be investigated in future works.

The narrative in Russian history textbooks about the history of the beginning of the XXI century is aimed at a positive perception of the past, where the protection of Russia's national interests converges. The President of Russia is portrayed as a strong leader capable of restoring a huge state after the crisis of the 90s, preserving peace in the country and other countries. The texts clearly trace the idea of an external enemy, which is often used in political propaganda. In fact, maintaining an enemy in the commonwealth is one of the tools for preserving the dictatorship in the state. In the History of Russia at the beginning of the XXI century. According to the analysis of history textbooks for the 10th grade, there are no negative aspects. Silencing negative events can be one of the tools of political propaganda and patriotic education.

#### Results

This section presents our results concerning research questions about the role of history teaching in patriotic education and political propaganda in general education schools in Russia. Scientific literature and textbooks on the history of Russia for the 10th grade were used as the primary data source. We conducted a qualitative context analysis to answer the questions posed. Theoretical and methodological aspects of patriotic education and political propaganda and their historical trends were analyzed based on scientific literature. Based on this, the connections between these phenomena were revealed. The context analysis of history textbooks revealed the most relevant topics from the history of Russia in the XX-XXI centuries. And their role in patriotic education and political propaganda among schoolchildren. Based on the work, we can draw the following conclusions:

*Research question 1:* The characteristics of patriotic education and political propaganda in the scientific literature have a complex structure. Both terms have a religious origin, but depending on societal changes, they have begun to be interpreted in other contexts. Based on this, scientists' different interpretations of these terms have significantly influenced their full definition. Patriotic education and political propaganda are systems of spreading particular views, beliefs, and ideas to influence people's minds and change their behaviour in the right direction.

Analyzing the goals and functions of patriotic education and political propaganda demonstrated their connection as ideological tools. Their goals can be set at both global and local levels. Both processes fulfil their ideological function in the education of young people. Both processes affect the spiritual and physical development of the individual.

*Research question 2:* As ideological tools, patriotic education and political propaganda are actively used in historical education. The formation of the necessary ideological ideas is based on public holidays, the study of symbols of state power, and the interpretation of Russia's international relations with other countries. These topics aim to form a national idea based on the Russian nation's unity and the state's unity. In addition, these

methods are actively aimed at fostering a love for the Motherland and devotion to Russia. In addition, young people are actively educated in the ideology of the importance of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. Schools actively foster respect for the laws of the state among young people.

The issues of Russia's international relations demonstrate the country as an independent and active participant in international life. The President of the Russian Federation has repeatedly stressed the importance of the country's national interests, which must be taken into account and respected.

History textbooks help formulate the state's positions and justify current policy towards other countries, portraying other nations as allies or enemies. Military history, the narrative about the state's heroes, historical worlds and metaphors played a significant role in patriotic education and political propaganda. There is no direct appeal to patriotism in textbooks, and no propaganda agitation is indicated, but the interpretation of history allows us to find patterns of ideological education of schoolchildren.

The history of the revolutions of 1917 is shown in history textbooks for grades ten as adverse events that are not legitimate. This topic is essential when forming the idea of respect for state laws. In addition, these topics could become a tool for demonstrating the need for unity of society in implementing patriotic education and political propaganda.

History textbooks study the history of the Second World War to demonstrate patriotism and how it should manifest itself in people's behavior. They do this through a narrative about military battles and heroes of the Second World War. The war is depicted as the most significant event in the history of Russia in the twentieth century, perceived by citizens, regardless of their political views and social status, as a particular phenomenon.

An equally important topic is the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The role of this event is presented as the formation of the idea of the unity of the nation in patriotic education and political propaganda. It is required to maintain a stable state system. The content of history textbooks on the collapse of the USSR demonstrates that the disunity of society leads to a new political crisis in the state.

The most urgent problem in modern history textbooks is the history of Russia at the beginning of the XXI century, which describes the events under the rule of the current President of the Russian Federation, V.V. Putin. The narrative of all history textbooks demonstrates the presence of a strong leader in the country. He solved many political problems after the crisis of the 90s. The most controversial is the authors' statements that Russia does not manifest any aggression towards other countries but only stands for preserving peace in the international arena. The authors and editors of history textbooks have created a symbol of an external enemy – the West, including NATO, the United States and Ukraine. All of this can significantly affect the ideological outlook of secondary school students using the textbook in the 10th grade. It can happen due to the lack of any alternative to studying the history of Russia.

#### Conclusion

In modern Russian society, patriotic education of the younger generation stands out as one of the most important directions of state policy in the field of education, which involves updating and improving the system of patriotic education of students at all levels of education in a modern Russian school. Political propaganda in secondary schools is not openly reported. This happens only thanks to ideological education when young people receive the necessary interpretation of history from school history textbooks.

Currently, the situation in Russia is characterized by a certain degree of complexity, inconsistency, instability of relations due to the military situation in Ukraine and internal political problems due to sanctions from other countries. This significantly actualized the issues of patriotic education and political propaganda in history lessons.

The Ministry of Education defines the need for political and patriotic education, since the pace of development of a new society largely depends on the civic position, moral beliefs, moral norms, and spiritual values of a modern person. Historical education as a system of scientific knowledge optimizes and ensures the process of patriotic education and political propaganda. In the conditions of the school, patriotism and political ideas are traditionally formed when working with historical materials that reveal the traditions of the Russian people, the heroic struggle of society, education of moral qualities of the state, political and public figures, intransigence to the enemies of Russia; respect for the attributes of the country's statehood.

In Russian society there is a pronounced social order for the formation of a patriot, a citizen of our Fatherland. In the new socio-political and socio-economic conditions of the country's life, the development of patriotic education and political ideas in secondary schools is determined by the fact that it has become one of the priorities in the field of studying social and humanitarian subjects; the importance of secondary schools as a centre increases the role of patriotic education.

The results of the study can demonstrate that the greatest effectiveness of patriotic education and political propaganda can be achieved by combining all methods of education together, both through a teacher and through a history textbook. The leading historical themes used in this event were military-patriotic themes.

The main difficulties in the research process are related to the following aspects. When analyzing history textbooks, the ideological views of their authors were not considered. The ideological standards of textbook authors or their editors can significantly affect the reflection of the history of Russia and the ideological component of the text. Historical events are analyzed and interpreted from the point of view of modern ideology and can distort the original meaning of key events and personalities in the history of Russia of the XX-XXI centuries. In addition, the sample size was very limited due to the lack of access to Russian history textbooks for other classes. More textbooks on contextual analysis could give accurate results.

Further study of the stated problem seems to us promising in several directions: 1) an in-depth analysis of history textbooks before and after the reform of historical education, to identify ideological changes that have occurred over the decades in Russian historical education; 2) a detailed study of several historical topics and their role in patriotic and political education.

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# A történelemtanítás mint a hazafias nevelés és a politikai propaganda eszköze az orosz oktatási rendszerben – Mintázatok a múltból és modern tendenciák

Vizsgálatunk tárgya a történelem tantárgy mint a hazafias nevelés és a politikai propaganda eszköze a modern orosz oktatási rendszerben. A kutatás célja a politikai propaganda és a hazafias nevelés szerkezetének és kapcsolatának elemzése az orosz történelemórákon, figyelembe véve az Oroszországi Föderáció ideológiai és politikai sajátosságait. Elemzésünk a 2013-ban egységesített történelemtanulási rendszerben használt 10. osztályos orosz történelemtankönyvek tartalomelemzését nyújtja, feltárva a hazafias nevelés és a politikai propaganda tartalmi elemeinek változásait. Célunk, hogy rámutassunk arra, hogy a vizsgálatba bevont források milyen mértékben felelnek meg az elsődleges forrásokban fellelhető tényszerű adatoknak, kontextusként használva az Orosz Föderáció modern bel- és külpolitikáját és az ezekkel harmonizáló hosszútávú politikai célokat.

Kulcsszavak: hazafias nevelés, politikai propaganda, történelemtankönyvek, patriotizmus